

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00
NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-07 /059 W
-----067670 061012Z /10/53

O P 051230Z JUL 77

FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8831

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUDAPEST 2175

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, XG, XH, HU, UR

SUBJECT: HUNGARY AND EUROCOMMISM

REF: A) BUDAPEST 2156; B) 76 BUDAPEST 3796; C) STATE 155136

1. SUMMARY: WE BELIEVE CONCLUSION DRAWN JULY 2 BY US MEDIA IS
OFF TARGET (REFTEL C). IN OUR VIEW BEREZ ARTICLE IN NEPSZABADSAG
WAS NOT INTENDED AS AND DOES NOT CONSTITUTE DIRECT CHALLENGE TO
MOSCOW. THERE IS NOTHING OF SUBSTANCE IN IT THAT DETRACTS
FUNDAMENTALLY FROM WHAT HSWP LEADERS HAVE BEEN SAYING FOR PAST
SEVERAL MONTHS ON SO-CALLED EUROCOMMUNISM (REFTEL A). BEREZ
MAKES CLEAR THAT HSWP VIEWS ARE IN LINE WITH THOSE APPROVED
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UNANIMOUSLY BY 29 CP'S AT JUNE 29-30, 1976 MEETING OF
EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES IN BERLIN. WHILE THERE IS NO
FIRM EVIDENCE AVAILABLE TO US INDICATING THAT SOVIETS ARE
UPSET, ANGRY, OR FEEL CHALLENGED BY HSWP VIEWS ON SEPARATE
ROADS TO SOCIALISM, CAUTION KADAR EXHIBITED DURING HIS PRESS
INTERVIEW IN FRG LAST WEEK AND NUANCES IN LOCAL WEEKEND
PRESS COVERAGE OF EUROCOMMUNISM SUGGEST, ALBEIT INCONCLUSIVELY,

THAT HSWP MAY BE UNDER SOME PRESSURE TO MODIFY ITS VIEWS.
END SUMMARY.

2. HSWP'S DECLARATION OF ITS VIEWS ON SEPARATE ROADS TO SOCIALISM BEGAN IN EARNEST AT CC SESSION OF OCTOBER 29, 1976. STATEMENTS BY HUNGARIAN LEADERS ON THIS SUBJECT HAVE CONTINUED RECENTLY AS REPORTED REFTEL A. BEREZCZ ARTICLE APPEARS TO BE AN EFFORT TO GET HSWP VIEWS ON EUROCOMMUNISM ISSUE IN EARLY BEFORE OPPOSING VIEWS BEGIN TO HARDEN. BEREZCZ CONTINUES TO MAINTAIN NOW RATHER LONG-STANDING HSWP POSITION THAT SEPARATE ROADS TO SOCIALISM ARE POSSIBLE BASED ON EACH PARTY'S HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE, THAT NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL INTERESTS OF INDIVIDUAL MAY BE RECONCILED WITHIN CONTEXT OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM, AND THAT EQUAL AND INDEPENDENT PARTIES MAY PROFIT FROM EXPERIENCE AND EXAMPLE OF SOVIET UNION. BERENCZ ACCOMMODATES TO A NUMBER OF SOVIET VIEWS, WARNS WESTERN EUROPEAN COMMUNIST LEADERS THAT THERE IS NO SENSE IN CALLING INTO QUESTION ACHIEVEMENTS OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN POWER IN EASTERN EUROPE. HE APPEARS TO URGE "SISTER PARTIES" TO BE MORE CAUTIOUS, MORE RESPONSIBLE, NOT TO OVERSTEP RATIONAL BOUNDS IN THEIR EMPHASIS ON NATIONAL TRADITION, CUSTOMS, AND BACKGROUND. IN EFFECT, HE ALMOST SAYS TO WESTERN COMMUNIST LEADERS: IT IS IN YOUR INTEREST, WITHOUT ABANDONING PRINCIPLE OF EACH PARTY'S RELIANCE PRIMARILY ON ITS OWN HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE AND PECULIAR CIRCUMSTANCES, TO AVOID CHALLENGING MOSCOW AND OTHER EE SOCIALIST STATES. IF YOU DO THAT,
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CAPACITY OF HSWP TO ASSIST YOU WITHIN INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT WILL BE CIRCUMSCRIBED. PARTICULARLY TO BE AVOIDED IS USE OF TACTICS (E.G., ATTACKING COMMUNIST SYSTEM IN EE) THAT ARE SUBJECT TO CRITICISM THAT THEY ARE PART AND PARCEL OF ANTI-COMMUNIST, ANTI-SOVIET PROPAGANDA TECHNIQUES OF "BOURGEOIS CLASS ENEMY" DESIGNED TO DIVIDE SOCIALIST CAMP.

3. BEREZCZ MAKES IT CLEAR THAT HSWP VIEWS ARE IN LINE WITH THOSE UNANIMOUSLY APPROVED AT BERLIN CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN JUNE, 1976. HE SAYS PARTIES "HAMMERED OUT A COMMON POSITION MAKING JOINT ACTION OF COMMUNISTS NECESSARY AND JOINING FORCES WITH ALL OTHER PROGRESSIVE ORGANIZATIONS POSSIBLE, BUT WITHOUT RESTRICTING FREEDOM OF ACTION OF A SINGLE PARTY." IN HSWP VIEW WORK PERFORMED AT BERLIN CONFERENCE HAS STOOD TEST OF TIME AND PRINCIPLE LAID DOWN IN FINAL DOCUMENT ARE CORRECT. BEREZCZ CONCLUDES THAT CONTENT OF THAT DOCUMENT "IS CONSISTENT WITH ASPIRATIONS OF ALL SISTER PARTIES AND WITH INTERESTS OF EUROPE'S PROGRESSIVE, DEMOCRATIC FORCES AND PEACE-LOVING PEOPLES. HSWP, HE DECLARES, CONTINUES TO SET GREAT STORE IN BERLIN DOCUMENT, ACCEPTS RESPONSIBILITY TOGETHER WITH SISTER PARTIES AND IS READY TO "DO EVEN MORE TO

STRENGTHEN INTERNATIONALIST SOLIDARITY AND TO REALIZE AIMS
LAID DOWN IN THAT (BERLIN) DOCUMENT."

4. BEREZ WARNS LEADERS OF WE COMPARTIES THAT "BOURGEOIS CLASS
ENEMY STRIVES TO DRIVE A WEDGE BETWEEN VARIOUS FORCES OF INTER-
NATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT BY NEW METHODS, BY ATTRACTIVE
SLOGANS, CAJOLERY AND PRESSURE AND BY ATTACHING VARIOUS
LABELS TO INDIVIDUAL PARTIES." IT ALSO SEEKS TO UNDERMINE
UNITY OF DEMOCRATIC AND PEACE-LOVING FORCES USING AS ITS
CHIEF WEAPON "ANTI-COMMUNISM IN ITS MOST DANGEROUS FORM--
ANTI-SOVIETISM." BEREZ ASSERTS THAT BOURGEOIS PROPAGANDA
"ATTACKS PARTICULARLY FIERCELY SOCIALIST COUNTRIES WHERE
IDEAS FOR WHICH COMMUNISTS FIGHT ARE REALIZED MORE FULLY."
THESE COUNTRIES, HE DECLARES, PROVIDE AN EXAMPLE, ENCOURAGE-
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MENT, AND FIRM SUPPORT ALL OVER THE WORLD FOR THOSE TAKING
A STAND ON SOCIAL PROGRESS.

5. AS STATED AT BERLIN, BEREZ SAYS, "IT IS RIGHT AND AT
SAME TIME DUTY OF SISTER PARTIES EXISTING UNDER DIFFERENT

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INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-07
/059 W

-----059781 051828Z /46

O P 051230Z JUL 77

FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8832

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

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AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BUDAPEST 2175

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, XG, XH, HU, UR

CONDITIONS INDEPENDENTLY TO CHOOSE ROAD TO DEMOCRATIC TRANSFORMATION OF COUNTRY AND FOR BUILDING A SOCIALIST SOCIETY, TO APPLY CREATIVELY GENERAL LAWS OF MARXISM-LENINISM. THESE PARTIES HAVE TO CHOOSE FORMS OF FIGHTING AND PURSUE A POLICY OF ALLIANCE THAT BEST SUIT POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND HISTORICAL TRADITIONS OF THEIR COUNTRIES. BUT, DECLARES BEREZ, "IT FOLLOWS FROM THIS THAT IT IS SENSELESS TO CALL INTO QUESTION VICTORIOUS ACTIONS ALREADY MADE IN CONFORMITY WITH HISTORICAL AND NATIONAL CONDITIONS OF SOCIALIST STATES. IN THEIR TIME THEY WERE FACED WITH DIFFERENT CIRCUMSTANCES OF CLASS
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STRUGGLE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEN PREVAILING AND THEY HAVE HONORABLY HELD THEIR GROUND THROUGHOUT HARD TIMES."

6. BEREZ OBSERVES THAT SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF INDIVIDUAL COMMUNIST PARTIES IS NOT ONLY BUSINESS OF PARTIES CONCERNED. "INDIVIDUAL VICTORIES OR DEFEATS AFFECT WHOLE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT," HE SAYS. INDEPENDENT CHOICE OF ROAD IS NOT ONLY A RIGHT BUT A GREAT RESPONSIBILITY. STRUGGLE OF SISTER PARTIES "IS CLOSELY CONNECTED ALSO IN SENSE THAT THEY CAN CREATE ONLY BY UNITED ACTION SUITABLE INTERNATIONAL CONDITIONS BY THEIR SUCCESSFUL STRUGGLE AGAINST THE CLASS ENEMY, AGAINST IMPERIALISM". HE GOES ON TO SAY THAT "REALIZATION OF HUMANITY'S GREAT HISTORICAL AIMS, CREATION OF A WORLD WITHOUT WAR AND LIBERATION OF EVERY WORKER, ARE INCONCEIVABLE WITHOUT PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALIST UNITY OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' MOVEMENT." SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE ARE RECOGNIZED AND RESPECTED PRINCIPLES IN RELATIONS WITH SISTER PARTIES, HE AVERS, ADDING THAT "TOGETHER WITH THIS, THEIR VOLUNTARY AND COMRADELY COOPERATION HAS TO BE STRENGTHENED IN SPIRIT OF UNDERSTANDING ONE ANOTHER'S POSITION AND WITH MUTUAL HELP. DEVELOPMENT OF THE MOVEMENT, FULFILLMENT OF CLASS STRUGGLE, DEVOLVE AN EVER GREATER RESPONSIBILITY ON EVERY SINGLE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS PARTY. HARMONY BETWEEN NATIONAL INTERESTS AND MISSION OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AS WELL AS CONCERTED ACTION ON GREAT ISSUES OF WORLD POLITICS ARE INDISPENSABLE," BEREZ CONCLUDES.

7. HUNGARIAN POSITION ON SEPARATE ROADS TO SOCIALISM AS PRESENTLY CONSTITUTED MAY BE REGARDED BY SOVIET AND OTHER HARDLINERS AS A CHALLENGE, ALL THE MORE DANGEROUS BECAUSE IT COMES FROM A SOCIALIST STATE. FROM THEIR PERSPECTIVE CHIEF THREAT OF EUROCOMMUNISM IS NOT PROSPECT OF DIMINISHED INFLUENCE
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IN WEST EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES BUT RATHER THAT IT OFFERS AN ATTRACTIVE MARXIST ALTERNATIVE TO SOVIET MODEL IN EASTERN EUROPE. KNOWLEDGEABLE YUGOSLAV SOURCE SUGGESTS THAT RECENT NOVOYA VREMYA ARTICLE ATTACKING EUROCOMMUNISM MAY NOT BE LAST WORD FROM SOVIETS. HE SPECULATES THAT SOVIET LEADERSHIP IS ITSELF DEEPLY DIVIDED ON ISSUE AND THAT NOVOYA VREMYA ARTICLE REPRESENTS ONLY VIEWS OF HARDLINERS.

8. UP UNTIL NOW WE HAVE NO VISIBLE FIRM EVIDENCE THAT MOSCOW OBJECTS SPECIFICALLY TO HUNGARIAN POSITION ON SEPARATE ROADS TO SOCIALISM. WE FIND IT DIFFICULT TO BELIEVE THAT KADAR, WITH HIS NATIVE CAUTION AND MASTERFUL SENSE OF POLITICAL TIMING, HIS TWENTY YEARS OF READING SMOKE SIGNALS FROM MOSCOW, HAS GONE SO FAR AS TO CHALLENGE MOSCOW ON THIS ISSUE. PART OF KADAR'S SUCCESS IN GUIDING HUNGARY'S DESTINY IS DUE TO HIS PHENOMENAL SKILL IN ASSESSING OUTER LIMITS OF SOVIET TOLERANCE. ON BASIS OF HIS RECORD UP UNTIL NOW WE DO NOT BELIEVE HE IS PREPARED UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES TO CHALLENGE MOSCOW ON EUROCOMMUNISM ISSUE, OR FOR THAT MATTER ON ANY OTHER. SOVIETS MAY ULTIMATELY HARDEN THEIR LINE ON EUROCOMMUNISM BUT AS OF RIGHT NOW HUNGARIANS ARE STANDING FIRM ON THEIR VIEW OF SEPARATE ROADS TO SOCIALISM BUT WITHOUT CHALLENGING KREMLIN.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: COMMUNITY RELATIONS, PRESS COMMENTS, COMMUNISM, SOCIALISM, POLITICAL PARTIES, POLITICAL SITUATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 05-Jul-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977BUDAPE02175
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770246-0059, D770238-0184
Format: TEL
From: BUDAPEST
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770793/aaaadcwq.tel
Line Count: 260
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 5f2c5171-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 BUDAPEST 2156, 76 BUDAPEST 3796, 77 STATE 155136
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 02-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1970819
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: HUNGARY AND EUROCOMMISM
TAGS: PINT, XG, XH, HU, UR
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/5f2c5171-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009